## THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA. WHAT IS DOING IN CHARLESTON. KR. LAMON'S VISIT TO SUMTER-DISAPPOINT-MENT OF THE CHIVALRY-DESTITUTION IN CHARLESTON-THE CASE OF MRS. DOTTS-

FORD.

From Our Own Correspondent. CHARLESTON, March 26, 1861. President Lincoln's former law partner and sonfidential friend, Mr. Lamon, has made a Tying visit to Charleston. He arrived on Sunday morning at the Charleston Hotel, and having registered his residence as Virginia, was fortusate in baving a day here without being exposed to the espionage of the Vigilance Committee. Nobody in the hotel had the most remote idea of his character or business, until he sent his card to Gov. Pickens's room on Monday morning. He had a lengthened interview with the Goverwer, probably respecting the postal arrangements. He afterward visited Gen. Beauregard at his bendanarters.

The quiet and gentlemanly demeanor of Mr. Lamen seemed to surprise the Charlestonians, for they have been taught to believe by the politicians that Uncle Abe and all his suite are charactors of the roughest description. Mr. Lamon was attended by Mr. Hurlbut, a native of Charleston, who acted as his Secretary. This centleman was driven from Charleston some time age, on account of his heterodox views as to the Divine character of human Slavery, and he was yesterday exposed to numerous insults and annoyances from his enemies of bygone days.

About 14 Mr. Lamon left South Wharf on board the steamer Planter for Fort Sumter, accompanied by Col. Duryes, one of Gov. Pickens's aids. He entered the fort and held a conversation of about an hour with Major Anderson. Col. Duryea remained upon the wharf outside the fortress gate, and was not admitted. On returning to the city, Mr. Lamon drove round the South Battery, and up Meeting street to the official residence of Gov. Pickers, spent another half hour there, returned to the Charleston Hotel, and departed in the .11 o'clock train last evening for Washington.

I am sorry to tell you that the visit of Mr. Lamon has proved very unsatisfactory to the chivelry. It was fully anticipated, as soon as bis presence became known yesterday morning, that he had come to give up the fort; and so strong was this belief that it was telegraphed to Sevannah, and preliminary arrangements were made with the Charleston and Savannah Railroad Company to run an excursion train here to-morrow (Wednesday) to bring visitors to the fort. The Palmettoans are beginning to wax derce and furious again under their disappointment, and solemnly declare they will stand no more nonsense or delay. But I have heard them blow so often and so much that of course such threats pass by me as unheeded as the idle wind. A have never yet believed in their ability or pluck to take Fort Sumter; true it is that every possible advantage has been thrown in their very teeth. In consequence of orders from the infamous administration of Jas. Buchanan, Major Anderson was compelled to look on and see warlike preparations for his capture progress daily on every ide of him. From his castellated walls he has been the witness of practical, open and avowed treason against his country, her honor, and he dared neither prevent nor interfore with it. He actually saw every means within their reach adopted by the Rebels to keep from him reënforcements and supplies, yet by the villainous orders of a degraded and utterly disreputable government he had to withhold his hand. The Republican party, I admit, have to grapple with all the difficulties left to them by their traitorous predecessors, but most earnestly kope that even yet they will spare us the disgrace before the eyes of the world of the surrender of this position. I know that Sumter can he reenforced without loss, except to the enemy! in God's name let it be done.

The "regular" army of the Confederate States are in the same bad plight I have before attempted to describe to you. This morning I had an interview with four who have escaped, who give the most borrible details as to the dirt and vermin with which the troops are infested, and fully correborates all I have before said as to want of food and shelter. Two of the men I saw this morning have wives and children, who, but for an honest old Dutch shoemaker, who is a strong Union man, must have perished from want. The two men have not received one cent of the thirty-three dollars now due to each of them, and have deserted for the purpose, if possible, of obtaining sufficient employment to prereut the death of their children from starvation. and I assure you these cases are not singular or extreme.

There is scarcely an alleyway in the city where you may not find a destitute family under the same circumstances. Scenes of misery, filth, immorality, and a hundred other enormities all arising from poverty have met my own views nothing that I have ever seen in the crowded thoroughfares of Northern cities can vie with a neighborhood in Charleston not three squares from the Adams Express office. And yet from the poorest and meanest description of "State pride" these things are hidden from the public gaze, and the very advertisement of a benevolent man, anxious to relieve the distress, is refused insertion in the newspapers. There is no room in The Charleston Courier for an appeal to bumanity to relieve want and destitution, but there

was room for this this very werning: Was room for his this very morning:

Notice—Ten Dollars Reward—Rundway, on friday night, March 23, my woman SIA-VEY, bout 43 years of age, of a light brown complexion, and has spotiable beer face as if done with powder, and limps a little, and speaks very low when species to. She formerly belonged to Johnson, the wilder, in King-street, near-longe-sheet. When she left she had a claim around her ankles to keep her from going of, but she wonk any her. Apply to f. BUCHHELE, north-west corner of Linear, Meeting streets.

Silvey, forty years of age, with spots on he face, as if done toth powder. I have taken the trouble to discover that it was done with powder, and with powder from the barrel of a pistol. Poor Silvey had a chain round her unkies "to keep her from going off, but she went anyhow." She was so kindly treated ! She, a woman, had been made a target for a vulgar ruffian, but she would not leave her dear, kind owners. Oh no ! She had a chain round her aukles, but she went anyhow, and may God speed her progress to is land of civilization and freedom! This is no singular case. There are three or four others this morning, but I have only had time to inquire

I have had time, however, during the last six months, to inquire into the general condition and feelings of the negro of this State, as well as in

that when they attempt to force the United States Government into a recognition of the robbery they have committed against it, from that moment their troubles will begin. They have an enemy in their own bosoms, which they will have to encounter and overcome. The moment they plunge into a civil war with their equals and superiors, that moment will commence a. very uncivil war among their own slaves, at their own homes. Herrible as the sequel would be, whom have they to blame? They may bamboozle a stranger into the belief that the North has sown the discord now existing between master and servant, but they cannot so delude one who has seen the system and its workings. Founded upon fraud and deception, deception and alienation are its natural fruits; they have only themselves to blame.

The statement of Mrs. Catharine Bottsford, which appeared in your columns on Friday last, is substantially true. Its publication has made Charlestonians exceedingly angry. The only error, however, which they have discovered in it relates to the Irishmen who were returning on the Columbia. They had come on several different vessels, and had been landed. Some were fools enough to throw discredit upon her statement on account of this error; but as to this matter, she could only know what was told her. As to her own experience and sufferings, she is a competent witness, and to any who may doubt the possibility of such proceedings, I will just say that I have carefully examined the case, and that Mrs. Bottsford does not in one particular overstate the truth, her ewn accusers being the witnesses. Not only are these facts admitted, but the course pursued toward her I have heard defended, even by her own sex. So utterly demoralizing is this system of Human Slavery, that it seems to obliterate all notions of right and wrong. How manifestly absurd at is, if these men could only see it, to attempt to base a new Government upon so retten a foundation. A more ignoble basis for a great Confederacy it is impossible to conceive, or one that in the long run is more certain to promote decay.

The Convention met to-day at one o'clock in St. Andrew's Hall, Broad street, with General Jamison as its President. Some notices of motion were given, one of which proposed to stop the supplies of Major Anderson. It will be considered to-morrow at twelve o'clock, to which time the Convention adjourned after a sitting of only a few minutes. Warm times may be expected. According to "Spratt," some of the first duties of the Convention will be to declare war on Fort Sumfer, to protest against those portions of the new Constitution which favor a sariff, and nullify that clause which forbide the State-Trade. The views of Mr. Spratt will be ly advocated by that indefatigable traitor, Barnwell Rhett (formerly Smith).

## MISCELLANEOUS.

WAR, COMPROMISE OR SEPARATION. [Letter to Senator Johnson.]
To the Hon. ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennetice.

SiR: The question which now engresses the stientio of the people of this country, is of such importance that I am sure you will permit me to address to you, and through you to the people of your section as well as of mine, some statements and suggestions which I trust are not unworthy of serious consideration.

A few months ago we believed that we were people, a Nation with power, price, and purpose equal to any. We had had different and we had never, from the first day of our Union, been entirely free from the anomalous and disturbing element of Slavery. Our political experiment had always been affected by it, and our National progress has not been natural and healthy as otherwise it would have been. But we had carried on our political contests so far without violence. Within this last half year, however, the control of the machinery and power of our Government has passed in strict harmony with the Constitution from the slave continent to the free sentiment, and a change has been effected second only to that of our Revolution. We cannot wonder that the deposed party should have struggled against this, but we are surprised that it should have leen able to induce so large a majority of the people of seven States to disrupt the Union with precinitation and violence; and whatever our views may be as to what Mr. Buchanan should have done or whatever our theories about the " Right of Secession," as it is called, we may now, I think, drop them

and approach this as a practical question. The present position of our Government, all will admit, is full of difficulty. To know what is best to do, is one thing, and to do it is another, both of which call for the highest wisdom, talent, and energy. It is clear that this complication and suspense should be terminated as speedily as possible, for enterprises of every kind are prostrated, and will continue to be, so long as any contest lasts, while the bitterness of private condemnation will ripen too fast into public hate, and will

Tire seem but three ways to resolve this miserable confusion, so suddenly precipitated upon a wonderfully prosperous country.

First. To maintain the integrity of the Union and the Constitution and the Union of the States at any cost and every sacrifice.

Second. To yield to the demands of the Slave Power whatever they are now, or may be hereafter-in other

words-to compromise again.

Third. To not only allow the Cotton States to go out of the Union; but to request all the Slave States to leave us, and as speedily as possible.

Upon these three propositions allow me to offer a fe suggestions. As to the fast: 'To maintain the integrity of the Constitution and the Union of the States at any cost and at every sacrifice."

This position is clear, logical and constitutional. It involves, of course, the denial of any right of secession, which is simply insurrection or revolution. It demands prempt action to hold, defend and repossess the national property, to collect the revenues and to enforce the aws. It is direct and manly-we have the power to maintain it; and it will be pressed as the only proper one by a large portion of our people, and particularly of the party to which I belong. As a practical question, I am satisfied it means War-bitter and destructive; complicated with slave insurrections, and ending with the wiping out of Slavery; but carrying with it the destruction of the Slave States, and the temporary ruin of the Free. It will destroy in the Cotton States not the traitors only who have done this mischief, but will bry down also what loyal and bonest men are there. "saion" is foolish, illogical, anarchical, expensive and impacticable, and will by and by be contemptible. War will a quify it. Is it wise to sacrifice one honest life on so poor thing, or to spend one charge of pow-der upon the policial traitors, whom a betrayed people

The second proposition is "To yield to the demands of the slave power-to Compromise again."

will yet hang?

The mildest demand, of ever the Union men of Virginia, and perhaps of your own yet loyal State, is that egro slaves shall be recognized by us of the Free States as property, the same as horses and hogs—that this fact shall be somehow asserted by the laws and the Constitution, and that we shall cease to think, or at least to say that we think, Slavery an eviland a wrong. This is demanded of us while you in the Slave States do not admit such positions. You do not kill or eat your slaves with quite the same case as you do hogs and oxen; and you demand that they shall be repre-Georgia and Alabama, and I unhesitatingly assert sented in Congress as you do not for bogs and horses.

Now, I beg leave to assert in the strongest manner to the people of your States who are demending commise and concession, my opinion that we shall certainly not do more than you do. We shall make no such concessions or compremises. We shall, under our Constitution, tolerate Slavery in those States where it exists, but we shall not love it, nor cease to speak ill of it; and no hocus-pocus can persuade us to consent that our Government shall buy or steal more new lands in which to spread it. The public opinion of the whole civilized world is against such doctrines, and practices, and it will grow stronger tot weaker with us in the Free States.

But suppose some sert of a " Compromise " could be hit upon, I appeal to you, what would it be worth !
Neither side would like it, and it would only serve to continue through another quarter of a century this miserable wrangle with all its degrading political censequenees, and with certain and recurring financial and commercial disasters. I repeat it, if the people, the capitalists of the Slave States are bent solely upon Slavery extension and political domination, if they will neglect and sacrifice their agricultural, mining, and manufacturing advantages for these, if they will " rale or min," they must go on their way alone. If they will conquer Mexico and the West India Islands, they must do it without our help or protection, and they must enffer the consequences. We are sick of the whole basi-

I can travel in foreign and despotic countries and in some barbarous ones and not have my opinions put upon trial. Actions and not opinions are liable to penalties in decently civilized countries-only this is an exception. If I violate a law I demand a calm trial of my peers, and not the tender mercies of a crazy mob; and whatever my opinion of slavery may be, I respectfully ask in my own free country that my body may be free from all tar, feathers, rails, pistols, bowie knives, gallows ropes and other like productions of the "Sunny South." I do not propose to meddle with the "institution" of Slavery, and I desire to be let alone. When ever the Slave States are a foreign country I think I shall be unmolested—that then I shall be safe.

We, too, have rights, and I insist upon equality with the slaveholder, be he for Union or Secession. I am satisfied with the Constitution, and I ask that it shall be free henceforth from these fierce assaults of the slave interest; that it shall not be juggled with and interpreted to suit the caprices of a faction whose property happens to be negre slaves. I ask that legislation shall be decided upon the merits of the question, and not as to how it suits a faction. I wish the privilege of voting without either sword, or whip, or threat being suspended over my head. I must send my portion of the President to Washington on his feet, and not on his belly. I demand, too, for our politicians of the Democratic persuasion one chance before they die, and some of them are old now, to think, speak, and act as becomes freemen.

The Slave States are demanding guaranties that we will let them alone; are they willing to give guaranties that they will henceforth let us alone? I demand such

guaranties. Now, does not "compromise" mean that we shall give whatever is demanded of us, and ask for nothing ?

What remains ? The third proposition, as follows: "To not only allow, but insist upon a separation of the Slave States from the Free."

Some of the Border States talk of a Convention to discover and declare their "ultimatum," which being granted, they will stay in the Union. Shall not the Free States save them the trouble by calling a cox-VENTION, and requesting them to go at once? Six months ago this would have seemed hasty, if not preposterous; but now that the Union is so unsettled, is it not well to consider its propriety ? It is a practical question. The difficulties in carrying out this separation will be great, of course; but are they not less than in either of the other plans ? .- Let us see what some of the difficulties are—remembering that we have a satisfactory Constitution and all the machinery for government, ships, army, post-offices, &c., in working order:

1. The possible relinquishment of Washington her the

2. The almost certainty of a marauding border

3. The necessity of interior custom-houses.

4. The impeded navigation of the Mississippi River. These objections once seemed imperative—now they do not. Great as they are, let me briefly say: Maryland might prefer to remain with us with some fair compensation for her slaves. But if not, for myself there are no hallowed memories connected with the City of Washington which endear it to me, but rather the reverse. I should be glad to dispose of my share of it at a very large deduction from the cost, and remove the Government to some safer and more suit-

Border collisions would soon come to an end, because in a single year the slaves would disappear from the border, part going North and part South. Those inviting and genial States would then be enriched with the labors of white men, and would take the rank in the nation to which they are naturally entitled, from which they have been receding for a half century, und which they never will take until Slavery leaves them. A line of interior Custom-Houses is not a great evil,

and is found practicable in other countries. Some smuggling would grow up, but why more than on the Canadian border, or upon any frontier of a European country? Our manufacturers, too, will soon learn how much more enlarged and productive free-trade will be to them, and they will demand it.

The navigation of the Mississippi River was once necessity of the great and productive Northwest, but the recent movements of trade have shown that it is now of secondary importance. Out of any interference by the Southern Confederacy with its free passage, would grow war, and thus in all probability there would be no intereference. We of the manufacturing and commercial districts are charged by some people who live at a distance from us with disliking the smell of powder. I admit that I do prefer to inspect the breeches rather than muzzles of guns. But there exist in this State some 400,000 men who can fight in a good cause, and still leave enough for a " Home Guard keep our domestice and women in order; and in the great and growing Northwest are some men who have been raised with rifles, and have sucked powder; and I think Louisiana folks will not invite that kind down there with rifles loaded. Thus I suppose the Mississippi will not be interrupted. But should it be, it would be soon settled, and would be infinitely preferable to a war now, for then it would be war with a foreign

country, not as now, with ourselves. It seems that the political theorists of South Carolina have not only convinced themselves, but a certain number of other people, that " Secession " is a natural right, and is not Revolution. They seem to shut their eyes to the fact that it means no government—anar-ohr. They seem to have satisfied themselves and others, perhaps, that they can become rich and grow great if they can only try their plan of a slave-owning nation. Let us see to: a moment how it looks. They have a region thinly settled without manufactories or the thrifty and industrious habits of more Northern States. They intend to make the negroes do the work and leave them the leisure and profit. They must have freetrade and free negroes from Africa, or from some quarter. They must support a government with armies, navies, light-houses, revenue service, postoffices, departments at home and minis ers abroad. These are not cheap luxuries; and must not their taxation be ten times what it is now I and must it not be paid almost entirely by the wealthy class? But it seems they wish to try the experiment, and will it not be well to let them ? for some folices can be brayed out in mortars only, white some cannot. And how can it hurt us, except that any change is expensive? So soon as they arrange their affairs, our trade with them will be the same as now; they will buy where they can buy the cheapest, for they are human, I believe; and we can undersell any other producers of our own articles. Again, is it not clear that this doctrine o 'peaceable secession," as it is called, has been invented to meet an emergency; and is it not quite clear that no

stability or certainty is possible, if it is once admitted as a fundamental principle of government ? Revolution, of course, may always change a government if there is no provision made in the Constitution itself for such inevitable changes; but revolution means violence, and hanging if it does not succeed. Now, if any man, or any combination of men, are at liberty, without risk or cost, simply to defy all laws and overthrow the government of the whole, what stability er good government is possible? And must not the Cotton Confederacy look forward to speedy anarchy, to be succeeded by military despotism, or any other changes? Now, I ask of you as a practical and sensible man, do you or your people wish to join such a Coniederacy? A SETTLEMENT and STABILITY only are needed t insure all just as prosperous a trade as ever-provided the Cotton Confederacy can pay for what they require.

Now one other point it may be well to touch uponnamely, Expansion. Is it likely that the Cotton Confederacy will be allowed to take possession of Cuba, the West Indies and Mexico? Is it not more than likely that England, Spain, France and Mexico will be very ready to protect their interests in those countries, and shall we not help rather than hinder them in checking the fillibustering tendencies of the 'Confederacy? Is not this clearly our policy! for under the auspices of a liberal Government in Mexico we look for a large and productive reciprocal trade, which will give work to our mechanics and business to our ships

and sailors. It is not necessary to press the importance of these considerations; you will see their value; and, I ask, is it not wise for the Free States at once to take some such steps as I have indicated, so as to bring about a speedy settlement of this imbroglio. What we all want is certainty; and can we not get that certainty by organizing ourselves under our present Constitution, which is perfectly satisfactory to us, free from the anomalous and disturbing element of Slavery. If the interests of the Border States are with the Cotton Confederacy, let them go there; if with us, let them remain. We see a large, generous and loyal party of men in the Border, States, of which, permit me to say, we think you the bravest, trying to make head against the disorganizing doctrines and purposes of the Sec. ssionists. If you can make head against them, ther join us; if you cannot, we shall regret this separation

from us much more than you can.

But I ask of you as a brave and candid man, to consider the effect of this separation-this non-dependence upon the slave sentiment with your own people Should they continue with us and unite in a Go ment for white men, would they not begin to prosper just in proportion as they devoted themselves to free Is it not certain, too, that the manners and customs of the people in the Cotton States, would sooner conform to the laws and usages of civilized society ! And is it not certain that our public credit at home and abroad would be better than now ! Is it not certain, too, that our people, having no hostile and encroaching element to contend against, would devote their undivided thoughts and energies to the development of our magnificent resources, and produce results which at

Pardon the liberty I have taken in addressing you,

and believe me, with great respect, Your obedient servant, For a Union with New-York, Merch 28, 1881. SPEECH OF THE HON. JOHN J. CRITTENDEN Before the Legislature of Kentucky, on Tuesday, March 26, 1861.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Senate and
House of Representatives—It is my great honor on this occasion to appear before you upon your joint invita-tion to address you upon the subject of our national affairs. I thank you, gentlemen, for the great bonor you have thus seen fit to confer upon me. I have been long, very long, in the service of my country. The time has come when I am to retire from it: I do it cheerfully and willingly. You and your predecessors have conferred many honors upon me; you have given me your confidence. Repeatedly have I had the honor of being elected to the Senate of the United States; I am now a private citizen, and, after all my trials and pleased to receive me with approbation. I am grateful to you, gentlemen. By these bonors and this exhibition of your confidence, you endeavor to make the repose of my old days, after a life spent in your service, agreeable, happy, and humble; you can confer no greater reward upon me, I can receive none greater. I know that I am indebted as much to your purtinitiy as I am to the value of any service I have rendered for these tokens of regard and confidence. I am invited, Mr. Speaker, to address you and the honored assembly on the subject of our national afhirs. It is a gloomy subject, Mr. Speaker. Never in the long history of our country has anything like or at all parallel to the present condition of our country presented itself for our consideration. But a little while ago we were a great, united people—our name was known, and known only to be respected, throughout the land. Our power, our greatness was everywhere recognized, and our flag was everywhere considered as the emblem of a great and a growing nation. Now, Sir, what is the condition of your confidence, you endeavor to make the reand a growing nation. Now, Sir, what is the condition to which we are reduced? Where is that glorious Union that we promised ourselves should be perpetuated? Where are those ten thousand sentiments offered in toasts and orations that the Union was to be perpetuated? Let it be perpetuated—ato perpetuated?—was the sentiment expressed on thousands and thousands of public occasions. What is our condition now, and how has it been brought about? I need not state very particularly the causes which have produced these effects, nor need I recur to the present condition of our nation with a view of telling you what it is. It is a seal story—so said that it is impressed upon every heart—known to every editizen. I shall not detain you idly by any particular details of causes. It is enough to say that it has all grown—our national calmity—our national misfortune—has all grown out of a controversy between the slaveholding and Non-Slaveholding States; furnishing questions of Slavery and questions of Anti-Slavery—questions about the Territories of the United States. These agitations have long exasperated on the one side and on the other a vast portion of the United States. It has resulted in the formation of sectional parties—a sectional party in the North and a sectional party in the South. The sectional party of the North has finally succeeded in electing a President for the United States, and installing their party in all branches of the Government. This has excited increased suprehensions in parts of the South as to the safty of-their peculiar institutions. They dread that the Northern power will employ itself in destroying one of these institutions, and depriving them of their property. Under this apprehension, what have they done? They have sought a most violent remedy against this apprehensions in parts of the South as to the safty of-their peculiar institutions. They dead the covernment out of the see states that have seceeded—South Carclina, Flarida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Missisappi and Texas. These States that and a growing nation. Now, Sir, what is the condi-Union that we promised ourselves should be other hand, this right was dealed upon the ground that the Territories belonged to the United States; that no incividual State, nor any of the States separately, had an interest in the Territories, but that they belonged to and were under the absolute control at d government of the General Government. Sir, let that be admitted. Aquit that the territory is under the absolute control Again that the territory is under the absolute control of the General Government; but, Sir, does it not tollow that the General Government ought so to administer this great property, so to exercise its great functions, that every class of States, and every State, shall equally participate in and equally enjoy that which belongs to all? No toatter whether you consider it a property held in trust for the individual States, or as a property held absolutely for the General Government, to be controlled or disposed of by the General Government, to be just, and to act upon the principles of the Constitution, ought to so administer the property that each and every State—every portion of the Union—may have an equal participation in and an equal enjoyment in that which belongs equally to all—the territory of the

United States. It seems to me, therefore, that there is injustice in excluding from that equal and full enjoyment any class of States because of any institution that may exist in them. The Constitution gives to the other States no right to monopolize that territory, and to assume the entire ownership and enjoyment of it. The Constitution accepted them at its foundation. It accepted them as slaveholding States. It accepted them at the time of its adoption as entitled to equal rights, notwithstanding they held slaves. It accepted slaveholding and non-slaveholding States as standing in equal favor with the Constitution, and entitled to equal rights and equal justice from that Constitution. So regarding it, it seems to me that it would be unjust for the Free States to assume and usurp to themselves the entire control of these Territories, and so control them as in effect to exclude from them portions of the citizens of a certain class of States. I thought, therefore, Sir, that the North was in the wrong and that the South was in the Territories. thought, therefore, Sir, that the North was in the wrong and that the South was in the right in respect to this question of property and rights in the Territories of the United States; and one of the objects of the measures which I proposed, one of their chief objects was to pro-une, by an amendment to the Constitution, an acknowledgment of this equal right on the part of the South. Spon Constitutional principles this right would extend to all the Territories of the United States, and the Sauthern States, in common with the would extend to all the Territories of the United States, and the Southern States, in common with the Free States, would have an undivided and equal rights in all the Territories of the United States. But as a common enjoyment would be difficult, it appeared more convenient that there should be for this purpose a sort of partition of the Territories of the United States be-tween the different clauses of States, slaveholding and convenient that there should be for this purpose a sort of partition of the Territories of the United States between the different classes of States, slaveholding and non-slaveholding. Our fathers, those who have gore before us, in the year 1820, upon the question of the introduction of Missouri into the Union, were involved in this very question of slavery agitation. The admission of Missouri was objected to because of its Constitution, in view of the fact that Slavery existed in the new State, and was sanctioned by its Constitution. Manifesting at that early period an opposition to the exclusion of Slavery, they rejected it in the first instance—they opposed the admission of Missouri. A compronise was then drafted. The line of 36° 39' was made the dividing boundary or line. Upon the north of it Slavery was not to be problitied; upon the south of it Slavery was not to be problitied; upon the south of it Slavery was not to be problitied; upon the south of the Slavery was not to be problitied; sho the the matter rested. It produced peace. Now instead of the common, understood right to go into all the Territories, the South has an inuthed promise that she may go there and carry her Slaves, if she pleases, into all the territory south of the line of 30° 30°. That Compromise applied also to the Territory acquired by the Louisiana treaty. What have we done in the present emergency—an emergency presenting the same questions? I proposed that we should again adopt this line of division and apply it to the Territory which we had since acquired in our war with Mexico—that again we should renew the compact that in the territory north of 30° 30' there should be no Slavery, and that in the territory south of it Slavery should be recognized. It seemed to me that this was just, equitable and right. But it did not appear so to the Congress of the United States, it would have checked the progress of the Territory and the time promptly adopted by the Congress of the United States, and they declined to adopt these resolutions, wi

Government should have no power whatever over Slavery in the States, and that no amendment should be made to the Constitution of the United States which should give Congress any such power. It said nothing infrespect to the Territories either as it regarded the Territories themselves or as it regarded Slavery in the Territories. They declined to permit slaves to be carried into the Territory south of 30° 30°. In the meantime the revolution proceeded. This revolution has undertaken to form itself into a Government distinct and independent. The revolting States have broken the Union which united us heretofore, and they are putting this Government into operation; and we stand here to day astonished at the great events that are occuring around us—astonished at the revolution that is glaring us in the face, and inquiring what is to be done. There was one solitary circumstance attending these resolutions, however, that is well worthy of notice. Although the discussion of them did not sufficiently recommend them to the Congress of the United States, it struck upon the hearts of the people throughout the United States, and afforded them an opportunity for displaying their fraternal feelings toward us and all interest of the people throughout the United States, and afforded them an opportunity for displaying their fraternal feelings toward us and all justment—ma amicable settlement of all our differences upon any terms that we might believe to be fair and equitable—just upon the terms offered by the resolutions which I submitted, or upon any other terms equivalent to them. That would have been reconciliation enough to have saved the Union whatever elsemight have been lost. As a testimony of the manner in which may be a servention of the manner in which may be a servention of the manner in which the submitted, or upon any other terms equivalent to them. That would have been reconciliation spraying for the passage of the measure. Forty thousand voters from the single State of Massachusetta, thousands from Pennaylvania, th We have great provocations, and often these provoca-tions have excited unkind feelings—reproaches without number, on the one side and on the other. Crimination and recrimination has existed among us. But this only serves to form a part of that great volume of abuse which political strife and the struggle for party prewhich political strife and the struggle for party pre-dominancy must necessarily produce. They pass by however. The stream is no longer made turbid by this cause, and in parity it runs throughout the land, en-circling us in the arms of a common fellowehip—a com-mon country. So may God forever preserve us. We have not been made to hate one another. We do not hate one another. The politicians who tell us that we hate each other are either honestly mistaken, or they are seeking ephenoral popularity by professing to be our friends, and showing as by the hated whice they profess for other sections, and their protecting love for us is over all. But the people will not always be led by politicians. They have risen upon this occasion. us is over all. But the people will not always be led by politicians. They have risen upon this occasion, and I believe in my heart that there is at this moment a majority of Northern mer that would chartelly vote for any of the resolutions of compromis that were proposed by men of the South in the List Con-gress. I have assurances of that character giv-en to me by some of the most respectable men, some of the most influential men of Pennsylvania. I have assurances given to me by hundreds of letters from the most intelligent men of that State to get my resolutions submitted to the people. They came to me from every Northern State, I believe, without a solita-ry exception, to get my resolutions submitted to the from every Northern State, I believe, without a solita-ry exception, to get my resolutions submitted to the people. "We want," said they, "to preserve the Union. We differ from our representatives in Congress in this matter. They are elected as partisans, on party platforms, and are subject to the control of their party. They do not feel as we do. They feel and act like par-tieves and want to pointain every will the contisans, and want to maintain every syllable and every letter of their platform. We wish to preserve our sa-cred Union. We love our brethren. Put your resolutroub before us. They will pass by hundreds and thousands of majorities." Gentlemen, I believe that in Pennsylvania they would have passed by one hundred thousand majority. If these resolutions have done nothing else, they have at least elicited evidences of affection for us from our Northern brethren. They could to be considered as having attained something in nothing else, they have at least cheited evidences of affection for us from our Northern brethren. They ought to be considered as having attained something in this light—something important, too, considering the value of the Union. The people were ready to sanction the compromise. The generosity and patriotism of their hearts have not stopped to calculate the consequences to party of the downfall of their platform. They have indulged these fealings as fellow-currens and fellow-countrymen, and they are willing to give you all you ask and all you want. They would rather give you more than you are entitled to than part with you. We are not to be outdone in generosity, I trust, by the people of the North. If they are thus anxious to preserve the Union, shall we be more lakewarm in that sacred cause. What we should do is this: Instit upon our rights, but insist upon them in the Union, and depend upon it that the people will grant them to you. This or that Sensie, and this or that body or convention may refuse, but, mark me, your country has a great, warm heart. The citizens of this Republic will work out the redemption of their country, if we will but combine and cooperate with them to preserve this Union. Let us struggle in the Union, contend in the Union, make the Union the instrument with which we contend, and we shall get all that we ask—all that we can desire—all that rearon can warrant as in expect-Union, make the Union the instrument with which we contend, and we shall get all that we ask—all that we can desire—all that reason can warrant us in expecting. This, my fellow-citizens, is the great fact of the sentiment and opinion of our brethron everywhere. Now, the great question which we are called upon to decide is, what, in this unparalleled, stupendous crists—what shall we do? Seven States of our common country—lacely moving in harmony—claiming no other rights than as the fellow-citizens of a common Government—withdrew from this Government, and are not denying their allegiance to it—avowing their determination to form a separate government, and actually founing that separate government, and actually founing that separate government as an independent Government—as separate from

this. They are attempting to ignore all relations to us, and claiming treatment as a foreign power. What is the wish of us all? It is, and ought to be, by some means or measure to bring back to this Umon—to bring back into—to perfect reconciliation with us, follow-citizens, who have thus gone astray and abandoned us. Aye, that is the wish of all. Though we may think they have acted realily, we cannot yet look upon them as foreigners. They are, some of them, of our families—some of them are our brothers. They may secode from the Government, but they cannot secode from those thousand affections that bind them to us. They cannot secode from those thousand relations of consanguinity and love which unive them with us. Nature has tied these knots. Party difficulties and political troubles can never untie them. They proclaim themselves independent as a nation. How shall we treat the e erring brethren? How shall the General Government act toward them? How shall Kentacky and the other Slave States couleut themselves toward these secoding States? The object of all is to bring them back. We wish them well, but we think they have done wrong to themselves, wrong to us, and wrong to all mankind by breaking up that Government whose promises that have been indissoluted, and wrong to all those interests which they have done prove conclusively to my mind that the Union cannot be broken. It is not yet broken. These States may have secoded. "Secoded"—a world altogether illegiumate, having no origin or foundation in any constitutional right, and all that can be enigmatical in meaning—that I am willing to apply here, divested of all right and significance. Simply lits revolution against us, whereas revolution acknowledged and avowed is war upon the nation against whom that revolution is attempted. Our Union so far as it exists in the sanctum of the Constitution—so far as it orite in the South—if all our laws, all popular opinion and sentiment, still exists in the cover, though disobeyed and disregarded by those who attempt to form a ject of our private affections, as well as of our public policy. To attempt by ecercion—by arms—to force them back into the Union at the point of the bayonet—to shed their blood—is no way to win their affections. Let them go on in peace with their experiment. This Government is not bound to patronize revolution against itself—therefore, I say, let its pelicy be the nolicy of forbearance and of peace. Let them make this experiment under all the advantages that peace can give them. We all bope, for their own sood and their own welfare, that their experiment will fail of success—that when the increased expenses of a Government formed of a few States, and the thousand inconveniences that attend its disruption from the great body to which it belonged—like tearing off an arm from the human system—when they have come to experience all the pains and inconveniences—all the troubles and all the peats that attend, and must inevitably attend, this extraordinary movement—they will begin to look back to the great mension of their trib—the grand Union of their great Republic—they will wish to return to their brethren, no longer to try these hazardous experiments of making Governments separate from this Government. These are truly hazardous experiments. I think they will fail. I hope so only because that will have the effect of brin,ing them back into this Union. It will have the desirable effect of restoring our lost brethren to us. I am, therefore, for the peace policy. Give them an opportunity of making the experiment. Do not excite them by war or blooming the experiment. Do not excite them by war or the shed. They have been sufficiently misled by other causes. Add to those causes their ritation that the sign of blood will ne sessarily create, and we can have a resemble hope of reconciliation—them to us or we to them. Lot us rather trust to peace. Let us trust to their experiment to pursue this policy of peace and forbearance. What shall the separate States do? Those slaveholding States still adhering to the Union ought to tucky do—our country—our magnanimous old State—what shall she do in this great cri is—this trial of our what scall as do in the great of its—this trial of our nation's faith? Shall we follow the Secessioniss—shall we join in the experimental Government of the South, or shall we adhere to the tried Government of the Union under which we live—under which our fathers lived and died! I call upon you to bear without the shall upon you to be shall upon you t fathers lived and died! I call upon you to bear withess, as candid, truthful mem-do you know of any
wrong that the Government has ever done you? Can
you name any instance of wrong suffered on account
of your connection with the great Union of which you
are a part? Kentucky herself came into existence
under the Constitution—and under the Union that she
still clings to. Under its protection she has grown
from a bandulu of pioneers and a few hunters to the
noble State that she now is—in every passage of her
history maintaining her character for honor and fidelity
for devotion to truth, devotion to country—seeking -for devotion to truth, devotion to country-seeking buttle-field upon which the honor and the interest of her country were to be combatted for. That is old her country were to be combatted for. That is old Kentucky. Fearing none—feeling herself in influence and power irresistible in the right cause, irresistible in defence of herself, she has gone on and prospered. Where is the man of Kentucky that fears that anybody will come here to take away our rights from us. Our self-possession and character is founded upon this conscious ability to defend ourselve—that there is none so bold as to attack us, we being in the right, they in the wrong. Now what, I sek again, is Kentucky to do? This is a question upon which many of us, fellow-citizens, differ in opinion. I came not here to-day to reproach any one for his opinion. I came to argue the matter with question upon which many or us, remov-chizens, differ in opinion. I came not here to-day to reproach any one for his opinion. I came to argue the matter with my fellow-citizens and to present my views on the sub-ject as one of the peuble of Kentucky. We should counsel agether on stan occasions. No man should be entirely given up to his opinion in such matters. He should it ten with respect to this openments of all. ontirely given up to his opinion in such matters. He should listen with respect to the arguments of all. It is the good of the country that is at stake, and the opinions of all should be heard and determined upon calmly and dispassionately. If we differ, it is only about the means of advancing the interests of that country. What will we gain by ging off with this saccession movement—this experimental government? It is not a hazardous experiment I can seven States well bear all the expenses that must arise out of the maintenance of armies, of navies, the expenses of a State Government like our own with like expenses? They must have a Precident. They will probably not give him a less salary than we give our Precident. They must have a Congress. They will not give their Congressmen less than we give ours. They must have all gressmen less than we give ours. They must have all the retinne, all the different departments of government, and they will not place them, I think, at a less cost than the retinue, all the different departments of government, and they will not place them, I think, at a less cost than we can. The army and navy, the expenses of which our legislators frequently com; lain, without being able to diminish, that they must have also. How can these seven States derray the expenses? Is it our interest to join this experimental government—to give up the grand britage which we enjoy under the established Constitution under ovide men most venerated by us, under which we have lived—a government which has been thought throughout the world to be a masterplece of human wisdom—rhall we whet-lave grown and houristed under it and regarded it as the most firmly established government is the world if its principles are properly respected—shall we quit that and go into the Secession ranks, fall into the footsteps of the revolutionary government? It would not be wise. I can see nothing that we are to gain by it. What will you gain? What is such a change to gain for any citizen? What evil is Rentucky to disburden herself of? What is the danger that now threatens her? Does she escape it by this revelation? Are these States any stronger by going out of the Union? I see nothing that is to be gained. I see no renealy in dissolution of the Union. The Union, on the contenty, seems to me to be the it by this revolution? Are I see softing any strong by going out of the Union? I see nothing that is to be gained. I see no reacces in dissolution of the Union. The Union, on the contempt, seems to me to be the shield and arm of our defense. Kentucky retains in the Union all her physical powers that she could possibly have in the new Confederacy—all her means of physical resistance are just equal in the Union to what they would be out of the Union. In addition to this she possesses chaims by law-and by the Constitution, which all the world sees, have, can read and mederatand. With these immunities and rights, with the laws and the Constitution, does the not have additional power? To the physical power she is able to carry the immunities and laws which form the charter. She can appeal to our courts, to the Union, to the follow-citizens of the Government and the Union. She is stronger in this attitude, is she not? It is nothing but passion, it seems to me, that can have raised her so far. I will not go into the means by which the people are stronges in this attitude, is she not? It is nothing but passion, it seems to me, that can have raisled her so far. I will not go into the means by which the people are sometimes misled by leaders; I will not go into the causes that sometimes delude these leaders themselves, but that we have gained nothing, that we can gain nothing by going into it and sharing with it, seems to me very evident. Our true policy is to stand by that Union whose blessings we have so long experienced.